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ABSTRACT

An investigation of Russian surnames reveals a system in which pronunciation is largely determined by two sets of factors. The author considers in detail the relationship between the stress in a surname and the stress in a word from which the name is derived and also the relationship between the stress in surnames and their "endings" as they are written in traditional orthography. It is demonstrated that, while most Russian surnames are systematically derived, many exceptions and individual pronunciations do exist. (PL)

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# The Stress of Russian Surnames

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To the non-native speaker of Russian, the stress of Russian surnames often seems hopelessly complex.[1] One investigator cites, for example, an unnamed American student of Russian who laments: "If there are three syllables in a Soviet surname, my first two choices will be wrong ones."[2] Even native speakers at times vacillate in the pronunciation of some surnames. An informant may hesitate to place a stress if he has never heard the surname in question pronounced and may, consequently, allow two (or three) variant stresses.

Other variant stresses are attributable to the personal preference of the bearer of a name. He may prefer or insist on a stress which differs from the most frequently used accentuation. Such individual pronunciations are not uncommon in Russian. Here are several examples taken from Soviet reference works, which seem to make every effort to record correctly the stress used by the bearer of each name:[3] P. V. Abrosimóv, architect[4] (cf. the normal stress Abrósimov); A. T. Bólotov, author[5] (cf. the normal Bolótov); K. M. Bykóv, physiologist[6] (cf. the normal Býkov); N. G. Egoróv, physicist[7] (cf. the normal Egórov); N. D. Kaškín, music critic[8] (cf. the normal Káškin); V. P. Mosolóv, agricultural technician[9] (cf. the normal Mosólov); N. I. Novikóv, author[10] (cf. the normal Nóvikov); V. M. Obuxóv, statistician and V. S. Óbuxov, architect[11] (cf. the normal Obúxov); S. I. Ožegov, lexicographer[12] (cf. the normal Ožëgov); F. N. Švedóv, physicist[13] (cf. the normal Švédov);[14] A. A. Úxtomskij, physiologist[15] (cf. the normal Uxtómskij).

Another type of individual pronunciation arises when a surname exists in two generally recognized stress variants. Each bearer of the name chooses one of the variants. The most widespread surname which produces such individual pronunciations is, of course, Ivanov. Of thirty-six Ivanovs listed in the *Large Soviet Encyclopedia*, twenty-seven are given as Ivanóv and eight as Iványov. For one, no stress is indicated. (He is listed in the *Small Soviet Encyclopedia* as Iványov.) Other such variants noted in the *Large Soviet Ency-*

*clopedia* and the *Small Soviet Encyclopedia* are the following: N. N. Anĭčkov, pathologist—D. S. Ánička̋v, philosopher; S. A. Zernóv, zoologist—D. V. Zërnov, scientist and D. N. Zërnov, anatomist; V. N. Tónkov, scientist—I. M. Tonkóv, artist. In other instances, only one variant (the pronunciation of a well-known person's name) is recorded in the reference works; the second variant, however, is also widespread. Examples follow: N. I. Gráščenkov, neurologist (cf. the variant Graščenkóv); P. F. Žígarev, military expert (cf. Žigarëv); G. V. Zimelëv, scientist (cf. Zímelev); X. M. Loparëv, paleographer (cf. Lóparev); N. P. Ogarëv, poet (cf. Ógarev); K. M. Táxtarev, historian (cf. the more frequently used Taxtarëv).[16]

Soviet reference works occasionally disagree with each other on the stress of one and the same person's surname. The following variant stresses, taken from the *Large Soviet Encyclopedia* and Bylinskij's *Stress Dictionary*, apparently refer to the same person. The *Encyclopedia* stress is given first, then Bylinskij's: Dikóv—Díkov, Ju. I., Stakhanovite lathe-operator; Gmýrev—Gmyrëv, A. M., poet; Doxturóv—Dóxturov, D. S., general; Puzanóv—Puzánov, A. M., political figure; Razénkov—Razenkóv, I. P., physiologist; Čebyšëv—Čébyšev, P. L., mathematician. Another example of disagreement is offered by the name of the poet K. Bal'mont. Bylinskij gives the stress Bál'mont; the *Small Soviet Encyclopedia* gives Bal'mónt.

In the above, we have noted that the stress of surnames in Russian is characterized by the existence of many variants. In the following, an attempt will be made to show that the stress in surnames is not so chaotic as it may seem from what has been stated above. The stress of most surnames does fit into a system. To be sure, numerous exceptions and individual stresses will remain; there are far more of these in surnames than in the general Russian vocabulary as described in the standard dictionaries.

The approximately 24,000 surnames selected for the *Dictionary of Russian Personal Names*[17] were presented in mimeographed form to native informants. The informants then placed the stresses or variant stresses on the names. On the basis of this material, two general factors can be singled out as significant for the accentuation of surnames: 1. the stress of the source word (usually a noun, occasionally an adjective) from which the surname is derived; 2. the form of the last syllable or two syllables as represented in the traditional orthography, especially when the surname is not related by the informant to a source noun.

In theory, the first factor alone should be sufficient to explain surname stress: presumably every Russian surname reflects a source word, native or foreign (often a name or nickname). Since, however, the derivation of many surnames has been obscured by time and space,[18] the second factor has shown itself to be most helpful in describing the stress in a large number of names. We turn now to an examination of these factors.

I. The relationship between the stress in a surname and the stress in a word[19] from which the name is derived may be summarized as follows.

A. If the stress of a masculine or feminine declension source noun (this noun can be a given name) remains constant on the stem throughout its declension, the stress in the derived surname is on the corresponding syllable. Examples: Vóronov—*vóron* 'raven'; Vorónin—*voróna* 'crow'; Mólotov—*mólot* 'hammer'; Švédov—*šved* 'Swede'; Bársov—*bars* 'leopard'; Borísov—Borís (given name); Fédin—Fédja (diminutive of Fëdor); Bujánov—*buján* 'ruffian'; Kapitánov—*kapitán* 'captain.'

There are several exceptions in this group. Examples: (the variant) Ivanóv—*Iván* (name); Lavróv—*lavr* 'laurel'; Perlóv—*perl* 'pearl'; Sokolóv—*sókol* 'falcon.' The stress of Lavróv may be the result of an obsolete end stress on the case endings.[20] The stress of Ivanóv and Sokolóv also reflect a dialectal or obsolete end stress on the case endings.[21]

B. Surnames derived from masculine-declension polysyllabic nouns which in their declension have a constant stress on the case endings are usually stressed on the *-ov* (or *-ev)* suffix. Examples: Gončaróv—*gončár* 'potter'; Gorškóv—*goršók* 'pot'; Žuravlëv—*žurávl'* 'crane'; Kiselëv—*kisél'* 'jelly'; Lopuxóv—*lopúx* 'burdock'; Orlóv—*orël* 'eagle'; Sudakóv—*sudák* 'pike perch'; Kulikóv—*kulík* 'snipe'; Tolmačëv—*tolmáč* 'interpreter'; Murav'ëv—*muravéj* 'ant.'

C. Surnames derived from monosyllabic masculine nouns with constant stress on the case endings present a complex picture. Some are stem-stressed; some have the stress on the *-ov;* a few allow variant stresses.[22] Examples of stem-stressed surnames: Býkov—*byk* 'bull'; Gréxov—*grex* 'sin'; Gríbov—*grib* 'mushroom'; Grošev—*groš* 'farthing'; D'jákov—*d'jak* 'clerk'; Žúkov—*žuk* 'beetle'; Kótov—*kot* 'tomcat'; Slónov—*slon* 'elephant'; Úmov—*um* 'intelligence'; Jázev—*jaz'* 'ide' (fish). Examples of end stress: Blinóv—*blin* 'pancake'; Drozdóv—*drozd* 'thrush'; Eršóv—*ërš* 'ruff' (fish); Petróv—Pëtr (name); Popóv—*pop* 'priest'; Stolbóv—*stolb* 'pillar'; Titóv—Tit (name); Xruščëv—*xrušč* 'cock-chafer'; Čižóv—*čiž* 'siskin.' Examples of variant stresses: Kústov—*kust* 'bush'; Léščëv—*lešč* 'bream'; Péstov—*pest* 'pestle'; Xólmov—*xolm* 'hill'; Ščítov—*ščit* 'shield.'

In several instances, the stress on the stem of the surname can be attributed to an obsolete stem stress in the declension of the source noun. Kiparsky has shown, namely, that such nouns as *grib, žuk, kot, d'jak, jaz',* etc., at an earlier stage of the language possibly had stem stress in their declension.[23]

D. When the surname is derived from a masculine noun with mobile stress (usually stem stress in the singular and end stress in the plural, either on all endings, or beginning with the genitive), the stress is normally on the stem in the name: Gróbov—*grob* 'coffin'; Lómov—*lom* 'crowbar'; Gólosov—*gólos* 'voice'; Žólobov—*žëlob* 'gutter'; Kórobov—*kórob* 'box'; Písarev—*písar'* 'clerk'; Sóbolev—*sóbol'* 'sable'; Vólkov—*volk* 'wolf'; Gólubev—*gólub'* 'dove'; Gúsev—*gus'* 'goose'; Kámenev—*kámen'* 'stone'; Lébedev—*lébed'* 'swan.'

There are several exceptions to this group. Examples: Panóv—*pan* (Polish) 'land-owner'; Čertóv—*čërt* 'devil'; Šelkóv—*šëlk* 'silk.'

E. If the name is derived from a neuter noun, the stress of the name is usually the same as in the singular of the noun. Examples: Ózerov—*ózero* 'lake'; Mórev—*móre* 'sea'; Bolótov—*bolóto* 'swamp'; Kol'cóv—*kol'có* 'ring'; Krylóv—*kryló* 'wing'; Peróv—*peró* 'feather'; Steklóv—*stekló* 'glass.'

There are many exceptions in this group. For example, in surnames formed from trisyllabic nouns, end-stressed in the singular, the stress often moves to the first syllable: Dólotov—*dolotó* 'chisel'; Mólokov—*molokó* 'milk'; Kólesov—*kolesó* 'wheel'; Réšetov—*rešetó* 'sieve.' The following variant stresses (with a shift to the stem) are also exceptions: Vínov—*vinó* 'wine'; Óknov—*oknó* 'window'; Jádrov—*jadró* 'kernel.'

F. The accentuation of surnames derived from nouns ending in stressed *-a* may be summarized as follows. A majority of the names are stem-stressed, although a considerable number do have the stress on the *-in*. This conclusion is not in agreement with most of the already published pertinent literature, which indicates that a surname derived from a noun in *-á* usually has the stress on the *-in*.[24]

Examples will now be given of surnames derived from nouns in *-á*. The examples are divided into groups based on the various declensional stress patterns of the nouns as given in the Academy Grammar.

1. The source nouns in this group always have the stress on the ending, in both singular and plural. Surnames derived from nouns of this group are likely to be end-stressed if a consonant cluster precedes the *-in:* Botvín—*botvá* 'plant leaves'; Lapšín—*lapšá* 'noodle soup'; Kočergín—*kočergá* 'poker.' End stress seems especially certain if the second consonant of the cluster is *n:* Knjažnín—*knažná* 'princess'; Kvašnín—*kvašnjá* 'kneading trough'; Golovnín—*golovnjá* 'brand.'

Examples of stem-stressed surnames follow: Búzin—*buzá* 'homemade ale'; Žárin—*žará* 'heat'; Zúdin—*zudá* 'annoying person'; Kljúkin—*kljuká* 'walking-stick'; Kórin—*korá* 'crust'; Páršin—*paršá* 'mange'; Pášin—*pašá* 'pasha'; Čékin—*čeká* 'cotter pin'; Vetčínin—*vetčiná* 'ham.'[25]

Several surnames have alternate stresses: Kámkín—*kamká* 'colored silken fabric'; Lístvín—*listvá* 'foliage.'

2. The nouns in this group are end-stressed in the singular and stem-stressed in the plural. The surnames formed from such nouns are usually stem-stressed: Bédin—*bedá* 'misfortune'; Kózin—*kozá* 'goat'; Lísin—*lisá* 'fox'; Rúdin—*rudá* 'ore.' The end stress in Vesnín from *vesná* 'spring' fits the pattern of Knjažnín. From *ovcá* 'sheep' is derived Óvcýn, with alternate stresses.

3. To this group belong nouns which are end-stressed throughout the singular and end-stressed throughout the plural except for the nominative-accusative. Examples of stem-stressed surnames formed from such nouns: Gúbin—*gubá* 'lip'; Svéčin—*svečá* 'candle.' Examples of end stress: Kopnín—*kopná* 'shock' (of hay); Borozdín—*borozdá* 'furrow.' Examples of alternate stress are Króxín, from *kroxá* 'crumb,' and Blóxín from *bloxá* 'flea.'

4. In this group are nouns which are end-stressed in the singular and plural except the nominative-accusative of both numbers. Examples of stem-stressed surnames: Górin—*gorá* 'mountain'; Dúšin—*dušá* 'soul'; Cénin—*cená* 'price'; Bor-ónin—*boroná* 'harrow.' Examples of end stress: Borodín—*borodá* 'beard'; Golovín—*golová* 'head'; Nogín—*nogá* 'foot.'[26]

G. In surnames derived from adjectives which have a stem-stressed feminine short form, the stress is usually on the stem: Gorbátov—*gorbátyj* 'hunchbacked'; Ljubéznov—*ljubéznyj* 'amiable'; Podžárov—*podžáryj* 'wiry'; Ugrjúmov—*ugrjúmyj* 'sullen.' When the source adjective has an end-stressed feminine short form, the derived surname is usually stressed on the *-ov:* Belóv—*bélyj* 'white'; Krugłóv—*krúglyj* 'round'; Ryžóv—*rýžij* 'red-haired'; Svetlóv—*svétlyj* 'light'; Seróv—*séryj* 'grey'; Smirnóv—*smírnyj* 'quiet'; Xitróv—*xítryj* 'cunning.'

There are, to be sure, important exceptions in this group. Here are several examples: Glúxov—*gluxój* 'deaf'; Slábov—*slábyj* 'weak'; Širókov—*širókij* 'wide.'[27] Alternate stresses also exist: Krótkóv—*krótkij* 'docile.'

H. If a surname has the same form as an adjective, it usually has the same stress: Bédnyj—*bédnyj* 'poor'; Gór'kij—*gór'kij* 'bitter'; Díkij—*díkij* 'wild.' Stress shifts are rare: Tolstój—*tólstyj* 'thick.'

(Surnames in *-ago* and *-yx* formed from adjectives will be discussed below in II.)

I. If the surname consists of two roots (usually adjective in *-o* plus noun suffixed with *-ov)*, the stress is usually on the second root: Belorúkov, Blagonrávov, Želtonósov, Černoglázov.

J. The stress of names derived from verbal forms (Guljáev, Kljúev, Čúev, etc.) is most easily described in the discussion of ending stress patterns which will follow. See, namely, *-ev* after vowels (under A. 1).

II. We now turn our attention to the relationship between the stress in surnames and their 'endings'; this term is used here to denote the last syllable or two syllables, as written in the traditional orthography.

An analysis of the material gathered for the *Dictionary* has shown that many such endings usually correspond to certain surname accentual patterns. For example, note the stress in the following names: Adsitárov, Azárov, Uvárov, Xabárov, Gumérov, Kazbérov, Abubakírov, Lapírov, Suvórov, Modórov, Babúrov, Gafúrov, Xetagúrov, Basýrov, Nasýrov, Izjúrov, Xajúrov, Giljárov, Abeljárov, etc. On the basis of such examples we can state that surnames ending in *-rov* preceded by a vowel usually have penult stress in Russian. (The foreign origin of several of the examples does not affect this pattern.) It must be added, however, that the stress of a source noun often prevails over an ending stress pattern. The ending stress pattern does not operate, consequently, in the following surnames: Gončarov from *gončár, gončará*, 'potter'; Sídorov from Sídor (a name); Dúdorov from *dúdora* 'rubbish' (dialectal).

In certain instances, on the other hand, the ending stress pattern may prevail over the stress of the source noun, or, at least, create a variant stress. The conflict between the stress of the source word and the ending stress pattern is illustrated by the surname Latyšev, existing in two variants. The source noun is *latýš, latyšá* 'Latvian' which results in Latyšëv. The form Látyšev represents analogy with the stress of surnames in *-yšev*, which are stressed on the antepenult: Bántyšev, Gládyšev, Dróbyšev, Karámyšev, Káryšev, Ólyšev, Póstyšev, Čályšev, Jányšev. (See C. 1 below.)

The variants Puzanóv and Puzánov show the same conflict. Puzanóv is from *puzán, puzaná* 'fat person.' The variant Puzánov fits the pattern "penult stress when a surname ends in *-anov.*" (More precisely, penult stress prevails when a surname ends in *-nov* after a vowel except *i*. See A. 2 below.) This pattern is illustrated by such examples as Avánov, Belánov, Galánov, Efánov, Kasánov, Levánov, Muránov, Selivánov, Tarxánov, Usmánov, Uxánov, Čerepánov, Šaxánov, Šibánov, etc.

The variants Péčnikóv can be explained in a similar manner. The ultimate stress is attributable to the source noun *pečník, pečniká* 'stove-maker.' The antepenult variant fits the pattern 'antepenult stress if a surname (especially of three syllables) ends in *-ikov':* Álikov, Bábikov, Bél'čikov, Gólikov, Kóršikov, Kúnikov, Péndikov, Rébikov, Sávikov, Svéšnikov, Xrénnikov, Cébrikov, Čírikov, Číčikov, Šálikov, etc. (See C. 1 below.) This stress pattern also explains the stress of the surname Mélikov from *melík, meliká* 'Caucasian prince,' and the prevalent stress Stárikov from *starík, staríká* 'old man.'

A survey of the most important surname endings now follows. This survey includes endings of foreign origin such as the following: *-dze (-adze, -idze), -švili, -eli* (Georgian); *-jan, -janc* (Armenian); *-ej, -aj* (Central Asian, Tartar); *-štejn, -gejm, -zon, -štam* (Jewish or German).[28] For each pattern two examples are provided. If an ending occurs normally with a particular stress only in specific environments, this will be indicated.

A. In surnames with the following endings, penult stress prevails.

1. In this group are endings which begin with a vowel. *-ago:* Belágo, Živágo; *-adžev:* Aládžev, Saródžev; *-ajlo:* Svidrigáylo, Jagáylo; *-axov:* Buláxov, Šemáxov; *-ašev (-jašev):* Dadášev, Kerášev (many exceptions); *-ev* (after a vowel): Buslaev, Taréev; *-evič:* Gulévič, Mackévič; *-ekov:* Balbékov, Sadékov; *-eli:* Cagaréli, Erdéli; *-enko:* Glivénko, Petrénko (many exceptions; cf. *-čenko* and *-ščenko* in C. 2); *-exov* (when the vowel in the preceding syllable is not *e):* Vojtéxov, Saléxov; *-iev:* Akíev, Mankíev (many exceptions); *-ičev:* Ivaníščev, Radíščev; *-ovič:* Adamóvič, Karpóvič; *-okov:* Žarókov, Sumarókov; *-onkov:* Abolónkov, Užónkov.

2. In this group are endings that begin with a consonant. The examples will show that most of these endings occur after a vowel.[29] *-bin:* Gundóbin, Kalábin; *-bov:* (cf. *-obov* in C. 1) Garíbov, Xarébov; *-b'ev:* Aljáb'ev, Tulúb'ev: *-vin:* Maljávin, Rogóvin; *-gin:* Vilégin, Kulágin; *-gov:* Odégov, Smarágov; *-dze:* Tabídze, Xarádze; *-din:* Akúndin, Čumádin; *-dov:* Zaxídov, Siabándov; *-d'ev:* Neféd'ev, Uvád'ev; *-žin:* Molóžin, Rjážin; *-zin:* Ragózin, Xarúzin: *-zov:* Abýzov, Lobózov; *-kin:* Epéjkin, Lomákin; *-ko* (only in words of three or more syllables, after vowels and *j):* Pleváko, Šiléjko; *-lin:* Eráklin, Samýlin; *-lov* (only after vowels): Brusílov, Rasúlov; *-l'ev:* Tanfíl'ev, Utýl'ev; *-min:* Galjámin, Kulémin; *-mov:* Paxómov, Ragímov; *-nin* (only after vowels): Esénin, Satúnin; *-nov* (after vowels, except *i):* Dodónov,

Ordýnov; *-n'ev:* Adón'ev, Tén'ev; *-pin:* Karépin, Šaljápin; *-pov:* Dulépov, Jagúpov; *-rin:* Kajúrin, Opárin; *-rov* (only after vowels): Basýrov, Xabárov; *-r'ev:* Alfér'ev, Bazár'ev; *-sin:* Dobrúsin, Xvésin; *-skij (-ckij):* Nagúrskij, Sperán-skij;[30] *-sov:* Vendenísov, Kokósov; *-s'ev:* Evdás'ev, Marés'ev; *-tev:* Al'métev, Ščenjátev; *-tin:* Maxótin, Raspú-tin; *-tov:* Vaxítov, Sperántov; *-t'ev:* Balát'ev, Šeremét'ev; *-fov:* Asáfov, Zaréfov; *-f'ev:* Olsúf'ev, Sadóf'ev; *-xin:* Gordjúxin, Meléxin; *-cev:* Mál'cev, Ševcev; *-cyn (-cin):* Golícyn, Kapácin; *-čin:* Anúčin, Mjakóčin; *-švili:* Džugaš-víli, Čejšvíli; *-šin:* Volóšin, Mikéšin.

B. In surnames with the following endings, ultimate stress prevails.

1. Endings which begin with a vowel. *-aj:* Abláj, Sabsáj; *-ak (-jak):* Bunák, Ščerbák; *-akov (-jakov):* Butakóv, Xudja-kóv (many exceptions); *-ar':* Grabár', Počtár'; *-ačev (-ačov):* Pugačëv, Rogačëv; *-ej:* Bagaléj, Starbéj; *-ovo:* Durnovó, Xitrovó; *-oj:* Blagój, Tolstój; *-uk (-juk):* Bašúk, Savčúk; *-ukov (-jukov):* Brandukóv, Sertukóv; *-un:* Vurgún, Liskún; *-unov:* Godunóv, Sandunóv; *-yk:* Pavlýk, Rjabýk; *-yx (-ix):* Malýx, Černýx; *-jan (-janc):* Mikoján, Šaumján.

2. Endings which begin with a consonant. *-gejm:* Adel'géjm, Oppengéjm; *-žov:* Mežóv, Pryžóv; *-zon:* Levinzón, Merzón; *-kov* (after consonants); Žitkóv, Maškóv (many exceptions); *-nin* (after consonants): Repnín, Juxnín; *-nov* (after consonants): Daxnóv, Tyžnóv (many exceptions); *-rov* (after consonants): Savróv, Čuprór; *-son:* Idel'són, Petersón; *-cov:* Zelencóv, Odincóv; *-čov:* Bulyčóv, Semičóv; *-šov:* Kartašóv, Jakušóv; *-štam:* Aronštám, Mandel'štám; *-štejn:* Bernštéjn, Rotštéjn.

C. In surnames with the following endings, antepenult stress prevails.

1. Endings which begin with a vowel. *-exov* (when *e* is the vowel in the preceding syllable): Mélexov, Šérexov; *-ešev* (when *e* is the vowel in the preceding syllable): Lémešev, Télešev; *-ikov:* Kóršikov, Rébikov (this is especially true in three syllable names—in longer names, ultimate stress may occur: Berezovikóv, Ol'xovikóv); *-ixov:* Védixov, Šélixov; *-ičev:* Márkičev, Xrúničev; *-obov* (when *o* is the vowel in the preceding syllable): Bórobov, Kólobov; *-olev:* Búxolev, Túpolev; *-oxov* (when *o* is the vowel in the preceding syllable): Dóroxov, Šóloxov; *-yčev:* Kóstyčev, Sáryčev; *-yšev:* Bánty-šev, Ólyšev.

2. Endings which begin with a consonant. *-čenko* (after a consonant): Vróńčenko, Sávčenko; *-ščenko:* Glúščenko, Tíščenko.

D. Certain endings are associated with two (or even three) stresses rather than with one stress. These differing stresses often occur in one name as variants. The chief endings of this type are the following.

1. *-lev* and *-rev* after vowels occur with antepenult and ultimate stress (note, however, the ending *-olev;* see C. 1 above). In some of the examples which follow one stress usually prevails; in other examples, variants occur: Buzyrëv, Gurilëv, Drágilëv, Dúdalëv, Duralëv, Žígarëv, Žulëv, Zímelëv, Kátyrëv, Klimarëv, Kósterev, Krívelëv, Lítarëv, Skóbelev, Skósyrev, Ševelëv, Ševyrëv, etc.

2. *-nev* occurs with various stresses. To be sure, ultimate stress prevails after vowels: Béreznëv, Grinëv, Dolganëv, Žebunëv, Lavrenëv, Léžnëv, Trénëv, Turgénev, Fédenëv, Cínëv.

3. *-enkov* occurs with various stresses. Variants occur frequently: Ánnenkov, Vojténkóv, Gáčénkóv, Druženkóv, Érčenkóv, Ziménkóv, etc. The stress may be fixed, however, to one syllable, when the name is felt by the informant to be derived from a name in *-enko;* the stresses will be the same in both names: Avérčenkov—Avérčenko, Davidénkov—Davidénko, Ivanénkov—Ivanénko, Ivánčenkov—Ivánčenko, etc.

The above has indicated that most Russian surnames do fall into a system, although many exceptions and individual pronunciations exist. The listing of surname endings shows that most of them occur with penult stress. In fact, most Russian surnames have penult stress, as shown by an examination of the surnames in the *Dictionary.* [31]

Notes

1. The research reported herein was performed pursuant to a contract with the United States Office of Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. The contract provided for the compilation of a *Dictionary of Russian Personal Names with a Guide to Stress and Morphology*. This study describes some of the material investigated and conclusions reached during the compilation of the *Dictionary*.

Many persons participated in this project. Special acknowledgment is made to Professor Vladimir Markov of the University of California, Los Angeles, who served as consultant and informant during the compilation of the *Dictionary;* to Professor Edward Stankiewicz of the University of Chicago, who read and commented on an earlier version of this paper; and, to Professor S. I. Ožegov, Associate Director of the Russian Language Institute of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, who commented on portions of this paper during a meeting with this writer in Moscow in May, 1963.

In addition to Professor Markov, the following native informants residing in the United States aided in the stressing of surnames used for this paper: Nina Soudakoff, Zinaida Churilin, Nadezhda Ievins, and Anatol Flaume. Six native speakers of Russian residing in the Soviet Union also placed stresses on surnames used for this study. All are highly literate. One is an undergraduate student at Moscow University. The other five are college graduates. Their occupations are as follows: a member of the faculty of Moscow University; an editor of the Academy of Sciences Press; two graduate students at Moscow University; a translator. Three of the informants worked in Moscow under the direction of Professor Thomas E. Magner of the Pennsylvania State University. The other three informants worked, also in Moscow, under Professor Irwin Weil of Brandeis University.

A large number of stressed surnames were obtained from the published sources mentioned in footnotes 2 and 3 below.

A shorter version of this paper was presented before the Slavic Linguistics Group of the 1963 MLA meeting in Chicago.

2. See Melvin E. Deatherage's mimeographed study (Oberammergau, 1962) "Soviet Surnames: A Handbook," p. ii. Mr. Deatherage was kind enough to permit direct citations from his study, which contains a great number of stressed surnames and which was a valuable source of material for the *Dictionary* and for this paper.

3. The major Soviet reference works with stressed surnames used for this study were the following: «Большая советская энциклопедия», 2nd ed., 51 vols. (M., 1949-1958)—hereafter cited as *Bol'šaja;* «Малая советская энциклопедия», 3rd ed., 10 vols. (M., 1958-1960)—cited hereafter as *Malaja;* and К.И. Былинский, «Словарь ударений» (М., 1960).

4. *Malaja,* I, 24.

5. *Malaja,* I, 1124. For this name, see also Valentin Kiparsky, *Der Wortakzent der russischen Schriftsprache* (Heidelberg, 1962), pp. 264-265. Notwithstanding Kiparsky's statement, some Russians do admit or prefer the stress Bólotov, and it can be considered to be a permissible variant in contemporary Russian.

6. *Malaja,* II, 67.

7. *Bol'šaja,* XV, 469. Cf., however *Malaja,* III, 791, which has Egórov for the same person.

8. *Bol'šaja,* XX, 428.

9. Ibid., XXVIII, 438.

10. Ibid., XXX, 79.

11. Ibid., XXX, 404.

12. See the title page of С.И. Ожегов, «Словарь русского языка», 4th ed. (М., 1960).

13. *Bol'šaja,* XLVIII, 570.

14. This paper does not deal with surname stress in the Russian dialects. The dialect stress undoubtedly differs in many instances from that of standard Russian and may explain such individually preferred stresses as Bykóv, Egoróv, Švedóv, etc. Professor Vladimir Markov, for example, has told this writer that in his native village his name was pronounced Markóv.

15. *Bol'šaja*, XLV, 445.

16. The *Large Soviet Encyclopedia* shows that in several instances the Ukrainian stress of names in *-ko* may differ from the Russian stress. Examples: N. V. Lýsenko, Ukrainian composer - T. D. Lysénko, Russian biologist; V. N. Sobkó, Ukrainian author - N. P. Sóbko, Russian art historian.

17. See note 1. The method of selecting the surnames is described in this writer's article "The Compilation of a Dictionary of Russian Personal Names," scheduled for publication in *Names*, XII, 1 (March, 1964).

18. A large number of Old Russian names and nicknames which served as roots for currently used Russian surnames now have no meaning whatsoever for the native Russian. See V. Černyšev, "Les Prénoms russe: formation et vitalité," *Revue des études slaves*, XIV (1934), 215.

19. Data on the stress of Russian nouns and adjectives is taken from the Academy «Грамматика русского языка», I (M., 1960) and Р.И. Аванесов и С.И. Ожегов, «Русское литературное произношение и ударение» (М., 1959).

20. See Kiparsky, p. 87.

21. For the stress of Ivanov see В. В. Виноградов, «Русский язык» (M., 1947), p. 196. For *sokol*, see Kiparsky, p. 164.

22. This statement calls for a refinement of previously published conclusions on the stress of surnames derived from masculine nouns. The existing literature has indicated that such surnames have the stress on *-ov* if the source noun is stressed on the case endings throughout its declension, regardless of its number of syllables. See, for example: Vinogradov, 196; Kiparsky, 264-265; G. Davydoff and P. Pauliat, *Précis d'accentuation russe* (Paris, 1959), p. 44.

23. Kiparsky, pp. 70-80 and 90-92.

24. See, for example, Vinogradov, p. 196 and Davydoff, p. 44. On the other hand, James Forsyth, *A Practical Guide to Russian Stress* (Edinburgh and London, 1963), p. 112, describes the stress in such names accurately.

25. Cf. Kiparsky, p. 265, who states that surnames formed from nouns in *-á* with constant end stress have the ending *-ín*, exceptions being "extremely rare."

26. Although all the informants to this study gave only the stress Nogín, the variant Nógin is attested to by Kiparsky. See op. cit., p. 265.

27. Professor Edward Stankiewicz has pointed out that *slab* and *širok* had a fixed accent at an older stage of Russian.

28. See also Deatherage, pp. 29-35.

29. This is to be expected. Shevelov has shown that the Russian root usually ends in a consonant preceded by a vowel. See George Shevelov, "The Structure of the Root in Modern Russian," *SEEJ*, XV (1957), 106-108. Since most Russian surnames end in *-ov* or *-in*, their usual end structure is -VCVC.

30. Surnames in *-skij* with penult stress often contrast with homographic geographic terms that have antepenult (or ante-antepenult) stress. Bylinskij's

*Dictionary*, for example, shows the surnames Aleksandróvskij, Babaévskij, Borisóvskij, Žukóvskij, Rakóvskij, Sobolévskij, etc. and the geographical terms Aleksándrovskij, Babáevskij, Borísovskij, Žúkovskij, Rákovskij, Sóbolevskij. This contrast is also pointed out by Forsyth, p. 113.

31. See also Forsyth, p. 112, who states that "...about sixty percent of surnames in *-ov* and *-ev*,... have stress on the penultimate syllable..." No source for this figure is given.

Since most Russian surnames have three syllables, it can be said that their stress gravitates toward middle position. A similar prevalence of middle stress in the general Russian vocabulary has been noted in В.А. Никонов, "Место ударения в русском языке," *IJSLP*, VI (1963), 1-8.